

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 034443 TOSEC 020029  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S:PSEBASTIAN:GJK

APPROVED BY S/S:SEBASTIAN

-----152153Z 054008 /61

O 152143Z FEB 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 034443 TOSEC 020029

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOL RPT MOSCOW 2181 ACTION SECSTATE 15 FEB QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2181

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, US

SUBJECT: LETTER TO SAKHAROV

REF: MOSCOW 2124

1. SAKHAROV TELEPHONED EMBOFF (COMBS) AT EMBASSY AFTER-  
NOON OF FEB 15 TO ASK IF "WE HAD ANY NEWS". HE CLEARLY  
WAS ASKING IF WE HAD RECEIVED THE ORIGINAL OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S LETTER. WHEN EMBOFF SAID WE HAD NO NEWS AS  
YET, SAKHAROV ASKED WHEN WE THOUGHT WE WOULD, ADDING THAT  
HE INTENDED "TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT AS SOON AS IT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 034443 TOSEC 020029

ARRIVED". EMBOFF SAID WE MIGHT HAVE SOMETHING BY  
THURSDAY, ALTHOUGH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY FOR SURE.  
SAKHAROV REPLIED HE WOULD "TENTATIVELY PLAN ON THURSDAY".  
EMBOFF UNDERTOOK TO CALL HIM WHEN "NEWS" HAD ARRIVED.

2. IF, AS WE ASSUME, PRESIDENT'S LETTER WAS POUCHED  
FROM DEPARTMENT ON OR ABOUT FEB 9, WE SHOULD RECEIVE

IT IN CLASSIFIED POUCH ARRIVING MOSCOW THIS EVENING (FEB 15). WE COULD THEN PLAN TO TELEPHONE SAKHAROV ON THURSDAY; WE PRESUME HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY COME TO THE EMBASSY TO RECEIVE THE LETTER. HE PROBABLY WOULD ARRANGE A PRESS CONFERENCE THURSDAY EVENING OR AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THEREAFTER. ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD, IF THE DEPARTMENT WISHES, DELAY DELIVERING THE LETTER FOR THREE OR FOUR DAYS IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH A SCENARIO ALONG THE LINES SET FORTH IN MOSCOW'S 2124.

3. IN ANY EVENT, AS I HAVE INDICATED IN MOSCOW 2124, I CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT WE GIVE THE SOVIETS ADVANCE WARNING OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. IF A HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHE ON THE GENERAL MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH I HAVE RECOMMENDED, CANNOT BE DONE BY THE TIME WE DELIVER THE LETTER TO SAKHAROV, THEN I RECOMMEND A SPECIFIC DEMARCHE ON THE LETTER, EITHER IN WASHINGTON TO DOBRYNIN OR IN MOSCOW TO FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KUZNETSOV (ASSUMING THAT GROMYKO IS STILL OUT OF ACTION). I WOULD SUGGEST DEMARCHE BE ON FOLLOWING LINES:

--THE SOVIET SIDE IS UNDOUBTEDLY WELL AWARE OF THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS; WE HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE PRAVDA EDITORIAL OF FEB 12, WHICH WE TAKE AS AN AUTHORITATIVE REFLECTION OF THE SOVIET POSITION;

--OUR INTERPRETATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND WHAT CONSTITUTES

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 034443 TOSEC 020029

TUTES INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS OBVIOUSLY DIFFER FUNDAMENTALLY;

--WE APPROACH THIS, AS OTHER ISSUES THAT DIVIDE US, IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING RATHER THAN PUBLIC CONFRONTATION;

--WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL SOON BE IN TOUCH PRIVATELY WITH THE SOVIET SIDE REGARDING THIS DIFFICULT AND FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION;

--IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE INSTRUCTED TO INFORM THE SOVIET SIDE THAT ON FEB 5 THE PRESIDENT WROTE A BRIEF LETTER TO SAKHAROV, SETTING FORTH THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL PHILOSOPHY ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE WE DO NOT INTEND TO PUBLICIZE THIS LETTER, SAKHAROV MAY DO SO;

--WE ARE MAKING THIS DEMARCHE BECAUSE WE FEEL IT IS IN  
OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS TO MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF OUR  
DISPARATE VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS UPON BILATERAL RELA-  
TIONS.

4. PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHETHER YOU WOULD PREFER US TO  
DELIVER THE LETTER UPON RECEIPT THIS WEEK OR DELAY  
SEVERAL DAYS.  
TOON

UNQUOTE HARTMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** HUMAN RIGHTS, CAT-B, CHEROKEE 02/15/77, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 15-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE034443  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** PSEBASTIAN:GJK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N770001-0549  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 2  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770239/aaaabimv.tel  
**Line Count:** 127  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** d9274bc6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 77 MOSCOW 2124  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3313786  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** LETTER TO SAKHAROV  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, SHUM, PPDC, UR, US  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/d9274bc6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009